

THE IMPACT OF RACIAL IDENTITY TRAINING ON ANTI-BLACK
ATTITUDES OF WHITE COUNSELORS-IN-TRAINING

By

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The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of racial identity training on anti-Black attitudes of White counselors-in-training. Three groups, one receiving Majority Identity Development training, another receiving Minority Identity Development training, and the third, a no-treatment control group, were tested on pre- and post-test basis using three measures of anti-Black attitudes. Results indicated that participants who received Majority Identity Development training demonstrated changes in their anti-Black attitudes that were significantly different from the changes demonstrated by those who had received either the Minority Identity Development training or no-treatment. Possible reasons for these results are discussed, and implications regarding future research and training in the area of racial identity development are explored.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Theories of counseling and psychotherapy, practice, and research have traditionally targeted nonminority individuals. However, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Black movement of the late sixties have challenged and shifted this focus to include minorities. Previously disenfranchised groups, such as women and ethnic minorities, gained "equal" access under the law (Arredondo, 1987).

Today, the impetus for the continued focus on diversity and multiculturalism is driven by the recognition that the United States is undergoing some dramatic demographic changes. Projections indicate that by the year 2000, more than one third of the U.S. population will be composed of racial or ethnic minorities (Sue, 1991). Furthermore, by the year 2010, it is expected that racial and ethnic minorities will become the numerical majority, with White Americans comprising approximately 48% of the population. In fact, a number of minority groups already comprise the numerical majority in some U.S. cities (Sue, 1991).

The increased awareness of, interest in, and focus on multicultural issues and concerns have been evident in the research literature over the past two decades (Mio & Iwamasa,

1993). Watkins (1994) cited this focus as one of the most important contributions to emerge from within the field of counseling psychology. Early efforts in this research focused on racial/cultural identity development of minority individuals, advancing the notion that individuals may grow and develop in relation to their awareness of themselves and their cultural heritage across time.

Within the racial/cultural identity literature, developmental stage models continue to thrive and proliferate. In particular, much of this work has focused on the racial identity development of African-Americans (Helms, 1984, 1990). Other researchers have also proposed racial identity stage models for a number of minority groups (e.g., Atkinson, Morton, & D.W. Sue, 1989).

Consequently, many approaches have been proposed to train competent counselors to become comfortable and effective with minority clients. One particular approach that has gained considerable attention is to introduce counselor trainees and professionals to racial identity stage theory. Stage theory of racial identity is based on the premise that individuals, regardless of their ethnicity or race, go through a stagewise process of developing racial consciousness wherein the culminating stage is characterized by a positive acceptance of one's race and that of others (Helms, 1990; Ponterotto, 1988).

Importance of the Study

Over the past two decades, there has been an increased awareness of the importance of cross-cultural issues in counseling research and training. This research interest is evidenced by the explosion of articles addressing multicultural issues in professional journals (Mio & Iwamasa, 1993; Watkins, 1994). Furthermore, several journals have published special issues devoted entirely to research, training, and practice in cross-cultural counseling. Most recently, The Counseling Psychologist (April 1994) published a special issue investigating multicultural training.

Traditional training models to prepare counselors to work effectively with minority clients have focused mainly on culture-specific knowledge or skills (Sue & Sue, 1990). However, these models have been criticized for fostering racial/ethnic stereotypes (Smith, 1982), for lacking a conceptual framework, and for developing and utilizing simple methods for addressing complex problems and issues in a cross-cultural encounter (Sue & Sue, 1990).

More recently, the focus of research and training in cross-cultural counseling has shifted from culture-specific knowledge to racial identity development as a vehicle for understanding ethnic minorities (see Helms, 1990). As a result, many models of racial/ethnic identity development have been proposed.

Although racial identity models have been proposed for a number of minority groups, early efforts focused on the racial identity development of African-Americans (Parham, 1989). These models were designed to help counselors in general, and White counselors in particular, understand the broad spectrum of attitudes exhibited by ethnic minority individuals living in an oppressive, White-dominated society (Sue & Sue, 1990). Racial identity development has also been useful for understanding counselor/client relations (see Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1989), and for predicting client preferences for counselor race (see Parham & Helms, 1981).

Therefore, it has been suggested that the degree to which counselors, regardless of race, are effective with clients different from themselves depends on: 1) the awareness that individuals are unique and are not merely representative of a particular group; 2) the awareness of differences not only among groups, but also within each group as well; 3) the awareness of themselves as racial beings (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989; Helms, 1984; Sue, 1981).

Since most cross-cultural counseling dyads involve a White counselor and a minority client, Helms (1984, 1990) suggested that White racial identity development and consciousness needs to be investigated in conjunction with minority racial identity development. Smith (1982) also reasoned that White counselors need to recognize that their racial identity development has a powerful impact on the way

they feel, perceive, think, and make decisions about themselves and others in a cross-cultural counseling encounter. Thus, this study has potential implications not only in the actual counseling process, but also in counselor training, practice, and research.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of racial identity training on White counselor trainees' negative or anti-Black attitudes. This research was an attempt to further research, refine, and extend Heath's (1992) and Hamarneh and Neimeyer's (1992) earlier work on racial identity development. In addition, this study was designed to contribute to related research efforts investigating racial identity development in general, and White racial identity in particular.

Exposing counselors-in-training to racial identity stage theory may help them become aware of within-group or individual differences (Helms, 1984, 1990). Consequently, White counselors may be able to respond to minority clients in a less stereotypical manner. Since racial/cultural identity development has been utilized as a major component of cross-cultural training, the results of this study would help assess the utility of this model as a training tool in graduate programs.

Whereas Majority Identity training may help White counselors examine their own biases and racism, Minority

Identity training is expected to increase their sensitivity to and understanding of culturally different clients. It has been asserted that a White counselor's racial self-awareness and understanding of oppression and racism are directly related to his or her potential effectiveness in working with African-American clients (Helms 1984; Corvin & Wiggins, 1989). Because Majority and Minority racial identity development can affect the process and outcome of an interracial therapeutic relationship (Ponterotto, 1988), it is crucial to assess the differential impact of these models on White counselors' racism or anti-Black attitudes.

Therefore, this study examined whether Majority and Minority Identity training facilitate racial awareness and consciousness of counselors-in-training. Because Majority and Minority Identity Development models are often incorporated as a training tool in many multicultural counseling courses (Helms, 1990; Parker et al., 1993), it is essential to investigate the impact of these models on the racial attitudes of White counselor trainees toward African-Americans.

CHAPTER II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The concept of identity development has been important in developmental perspectives since Erikson (1963) asserted that the major task of adolescence is to establish an independent identity. Most psychological theories and research efforts have focused on nonminority individuals. However, during the past two decades, the emphasis on cross-cultural issues in research and training has seriously challenged this focus.

As a result, several theorists have developed models of racial identity development for a number of minority groups. Much of the research in this area has focused on African-Americans (Cross, 1971; Jackson, 1975; Parham & Helms, 1985; Thomas, 1971). Other models of racial identity have been proposed for Asian-Americans (Sue, 1981; Sue & Sue, 1971) and Latinos (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). More recently, models of Euro-American or White identity development have been delineated (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1984; Ponterotto, 1988; Sabnani, Ponterotto, & Borodovsky, 1991). The significance of these theories is that they focus attention on differences within a particular racial/ethnic group, not just on those between groups.

In addition, identity development models have been proposed for nonethnic minority groups, including those of feminist identity (Downing & Roush, 1985), and gay and lesbian identity (Cass, 1979). Additionally, Atkinson et al. (1989) have developed a model inclusive of all racial/ethnic groups. Researchers have drawn parallels across racial-ethnic groups, women, disabled persons, and gays and lesbians. They have asserted that the experience of oppression serves as a unifying factor among these diverse groups (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1989).

Sue (1981) defined racial identity development as pride in one's racial, ethnic, or cultural identity. Racial identity development is an important area in cross-cultural counseling because it helps shape individuals' attitudes about themselves, about other individuals from different racial/ethnic minority groups, and about members of the majority culture.

Racial identity development theory proposes that differences exist not only between racial groups, but also within particular racial or ethnic groups (Sue & Sue, 1990). The recognition of within-group differences has important implications for counselors who work with ethnic/minority groups. Counselors are routinely forewarned of the dangers of stereotyping and are encouraged to treat each client as an individual rather than as merely a representative of a particular culture or race (Sue, 1981). Therefore, models of

racial identity development are useful in conceptualizing differences among members of the same racial or ethnic group. During the last decade, the field of cross-cultural counseling has witnessed an increased emphasis on Racial/Ethnic Identity Development Theory (Atkinson et al., 1989; Helms, 1990).

African-American Racial Identity

During the past two decades, a significant body of research has addressed African-American racial identity development (Cross, 1971; Jackson, 1975; Thomas, 1971). Most research in this area has focused on descriptions of and explanations about proposed changes in racial identity attitudes of African-Americans (Parham, 1989). Initially, researchers directed their efforts to developing models that explain the identity change phenomenon (Parham, 1989).

These models are based on the premise that racial identity development is characterized by movement across a series of sequential stages. Furthermore, changes in racial identity are usually influenced by an individual's reaction to social/environmental pressures and circumstances (Cross, 1971; Jackson, 1975; Thomas, 1971). Additionally, Sherif and Sherif (1969) suggested that acceptance of one's Blackness is not developed in a vacuum. They asserted that initial feelings of inferiority and shame, which develop from growing up in a White-dominated society, lead to guilt and rage. Eventually, African-Americans develop self-confidence and a

positive self-concept, relying less on the majority culture for validation of the self.

One stage theory of racial identity development for African-Americans were proffered by Thomas (1971). Thomas (1971) proposed a comprehensive five-stage developmental model in which African-Americans move from a state of confusion about their Black identity and dependence on the dominant White majority for self-definition, to one of acceptance as Black persons in a White world.

Thomas (1971) posited that African-Americans must first withdraw into themselves before reexamining and renegotiating relationships with others different from themselves, including those representing the majority culture. This process of withdrawal characterizes the first stage of Thomas' model. In the second stage, individuals testify to the pain associated with denying oneself as a person, and they learn to express their anxieties about "becoming" Black. The third stage is characterized by African-Americans processing information about their cultural heritage. This effort of information processing leads to the fourth stage, in which an African-American individual actively seeks a particular Black subgroup to identify with in order to experience a stronger connection with the larger Black culture. In the fifth stage, referred to as "transcendental," African-Americans may reject previously held beliefs about race and social class and see themselves

"as part of humanity in all its forms" (Hall, Cross, & Freedle, 1972, p. 158). Thomas (1971) further reasoned that this five-step process is a necessary condition for African-Americans to eradicate "Negromachy," regarded as a state of confusion about one's identity, as well as the dependence on the dominant culture for self-definition.

Similarly, Cross's (1971) four-stage model, known as the "Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience," postulates that a person evolves from a self-perception in which Blackness is degraded to a self-perception in which one is firmly secure with one's Blackness. Therefore, African-American racial identity is characterized by the movement through four distinct psychological stages: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization.

In the Pre-encounter stage, African-Americans are characterized as being non-Black or anti-Black. In fact, they act in ways that devalue their African-American heritage and identity. During the Encounter phase, individuals begin to gain awareness of what it means to be Black, as well as validate their African-American identity. In the third stage, Immersion, individuals reject all non-Black values and become fully involved or immersed in African-American culture. In the fourth and final stage, the individual develops a secure and self-confident identity. In this phase, the Black person is comfortable with expressing his/her preferences and interests in non-Black cultures and

experiences. It is noteworthy that these stages rest on a continuum from negative to positive self-perceptions.

Other theorists have also developed similar stage models about African-American racial identity (Jackson, 1975) and identity of other minority groups (Atkinson, Morton, & D.W. Sue, 1979). Research in this area supports the notion that racial identity development is one of the most important current issues in the field of multicultural counseling (Heath, Neimeyer, & Pederson, 1988; Watkins, 1994).

Multicultural counseling research has demonstrated and highlighted the importance of racial differences in the counselor/client interaction. Perhaps one of the most significant advances in cross-cultural counseling practice and research centers on the relationship between racial identity development of both the client and the counselor, and the cross-cultural therapeutic encounter. However, few studies have examined the effects of Black clients' racial/cultural identity development on their preferences for Black or White counselors (Butler, 1975; Morten, 1984).

Consequently, Parham and Helms (1981) utilized racial identity attitudes derived from Cross's (1971) racial identity model to predict the preferences for Black and White counselors for 92 Black university students. It was found that racial attitudes accounted for a significant percentage of the variance involving preferences for counselor's race (Parham & Helms, 1981).

Although Parham and Helms (1981, 1985) made significant contributions to this area, other researchers attempted to move beyond the mere examination of preferences for counselors into the relatively new arena of the counseling process. A case in point is a study by Pomales, Claiborn, and LaFromboise (1986), which investigated the effects of African-American racial identity on participants' perceptions of culturally sensitive and culturally insensitive counselors. Pomales et al. (1986) reported that Black participants perceived a culture-sensitive counselor, who acknowledged the possible impact of race and culture on problems, as more competent than a counselor who did not.

Most counselors and counselors-in-training are White, middle-class individuals (Helms, 1990). Furthermore, cross-cultural counseling dyads are likely to involve a White counselor and a minority client. Because White racial identity development may influence the therapeutic process in a cross-cultural encounter, it is imperative to investigate White racial identity development in conjunction with minority identity development (Helms, 1984, 1990).

White Racial Identity Development

Clearly, racial/ethnic identity development in general, and African-American racial identity development in particular, is an important issue within the field of counseling psychology. In fact, models of racial identity development are used as a basic component of multicultural

counselor training. Previous research in this arena has focused almost exclusively on minority populations. However, a recent surge in the literature is challenging this focus. The reason for this shift is basic to counseling theory: counseling is a relationship, and in cross-cultural counseling, it is predominantly a relationship between a White counselor and a minority client. Ponterotto (1988) illustrates this point well:

Although examining and incorporating the racial identity development levels of minority clientele into the counseling process is of great importance, so too is the examination of the racial identity and consciousness levels of counselors, who are oftentimes White. It seems that a whole arena of the counseling process has been neglected. The counseling encounter is a dyadic process in which both interlocutors contribute to the success of the encounter. What pragmatic use will the counselor's understanding of the client's racial consciousness level foster, if the counselor himself or herself is racially 'unconscious.' (p. 149)

The idea that White counselors need to examine their tendency to be "culturally encapsulated" (Wrenn, 1962, 1985) or racially blind (Katz & Ivey, 1977) is not a recent development in the counseling field. The APA Executive Goals Committee of Division 17 endorsed the guideline that counselors should be aware of their own values and biases and how they affect minority clients. Helms (1990) has also stressed the need for White counselors to consider the powerful impact of racial identity development on their potential effectiveness with minority clients.

Therefore, a significant development in multicultural training and research is the recognition that White people progress through similar developmental stages as those previously delineated for African-Americans and other racial/ethnic minorities. For example, Helms (1984, 1990) proposed a five-stage model of White racial identity development model in which individuals tend to progress from lower to higher levels of consciousness.

By recognizing the implications of racial identity development for the counseling process, researchers have placed more emphasis on devising models that help White counselors to become aware of how their racial attitudes and feelings influence the therapeutic encounter (Helms, 1990; Sabnani et al., 1991). One assumption in the literature regarding the impact of racial identity development on the counseling process is that White counselors have the capacity to understand others better when they can understand the nature of the development of their own racial identity attitudes and feelings (Parker, Moore, & Neimeyer, 1993).

Because the majority of counselors and trainees are White middle-class individuals, White identity development may carry important implications for training and practice in professional psychology (Helms, 1990; Sue & Sue, 1990). White identity theory holds that for White individuals to acknowledge and feel comfortable with their identity as White persons in an ethnocentric and racist society, they must

experience an identity process and progress through a number of distinct yet interrelated stages (Helms, 1984).

Recently, researchers began focusing on and developing theoretical, stagewise progression models of White identity development. Consequently, three extant models of White racial identity development (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1984, 1990; Ponterotto, 1988) have been proffered. Recently, Sabnani, Ponterotto, and Borodovsky (1991) have proposed an all-inclusive White identity stage theory based on the integration of the three existing models.

All of these White racial identity development models have one common theme. They assert that for Whites to develop a healthy sense of racial identity, awareness must occur on two levels: (1) awareness of an identity as a member of the dominant (White) culture; and (2) awareness that racism is a part of the White culture that maintains and perpetuates the oppression of other ethnic/racial minority groups (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989; Helms, 1990; Ponterotto, 1988). This study will primarily focus on Helms's (1984) White racial identity model since it has received considerable attention in cross-cultural research.

Helms (1984) developed a model of White racial identity development. Her model presents five progressive stages through which White people pass in becoming racially conscious. Helms (1984) reasoned that unlike Blacks, Whites are the dominant race in this culture. This factor allows

them to choose environments that permit them to remain at a particular stage of racial consciousness. These stages are Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy (Helms, 1984).

In the Contact stage, White people become aware that Black individuals exist and may approach them with interest and curiosity. White individuals in this phase are usually unaware of themselves as racial beings and are oblivious to cultural/racial issues. They may also be naive about the impact of race and racism on themselves and others. During this stage, the White individual may attune to negative reactions of Whites toward interracial contact with Black people. The intensity of these feelings is a function of one's immediate environment, and his/her feelings toward Blacks or other minority members (Helms, 1984).

In the second stage, Disintegration, the person is forced to acknowledge that he or she is White and what it means to be White in a racist society (Helms, 1984; Katz & Ivey, 1977). Often people in this stage are caught between White and Black culture, and between oppression and humanity. This stage may be characterized by experiences of guilt and depression associated with becoming aware of being a member of the White dominant culture. As a result, the White individual may adopt one of two alternatives: 1) He or she may adopt an overidentification pattern, as well as express paternalistic attitudes towards Black people; 2) The

individual may refrain from contact with Blacks and may retreat into White cultural values and beliefs (Helms, 1984).

In the Reintegration stage, the White individual may become positively biased towards his or her White culture and negatively biased towards the Black culture. Consequently, individuals in this stage may become hostile, angry, or fearful. The move to the next stage depends on how the individual processes the Reintegrative feelings. The individual may become more segregated or begin to reassess and question his or her personal values (Helms, 1984).

Helms (1984) described the Pseudo-independence stage as the time when Whites come to acquire an intellectual curiosity about and acceptance of both Blacks and Whites. During this phase, interracial associations and interactions may again become possible. Helms (1984) reasoned that individuals in this stage are no longer characterized by the naivete' of the Contact stage or the anger of the Reintegration stage. Internalization of Whiteness may also begin to occur during this stage of White racial identity development (Helms, 1984).

In the final stage, Autonomy, the White individual is characterized as possessing a bi-racially transcendent worldview. The individual no longer has intellectual curiosity regarding racial differences. Instead, he or she accepts these differences on a cognitive and affective level. Often, people in this stage actively pursue

interracial interactions and associations. Helms (1984) suggested that they are able to seek out such experiences because they are both secure in their own racial identity and appreciative of cultural differences of other minority/racial members. Individuals in this stage have internalized a nonracist White identity and do not feel threatened by other racial groups (Helms, 1990).

Attitudes expressed in the later stages (i.e., Pseudo-Independence, Autonomy) of Helms's White racial identity development model are consistent with the goals of developing culturally effective counselors (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). Helms (1992) has recommended that stages of White racial identity be viewed as levels of racial complexity within the individual, with higher or more advanced stages representing greater sophistication in conceptualizing one's own racial characteristics and those of other minority/racial group members. According to this perspective, each stage of racial identity is potentially present in White individuals. The level of maturation may determine which stage will govern the person's attitudes, feelings, and behaviors toward others who are different from themselves (Helms, 1990).

Helms's (1984) model has been influential and received much attention in the cross-cultural research and training. Recently, Tokar and Swanson (1991) investigated the validity of Helms's (1984) model of White racial identity development by testing a central assumption of the model: that more

advanced stages are associated with greater self-actualization. Tokar and Swanson (1991) administered the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990) and the Personal Orientation Inventory (see Tokar & Swanson, 1991) to 308 White college students. Results indicated that self-actualizing tendencies were positively related to more developmentally advanced White racial identity attitudes (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Other empirical investigations of Helms's (1984) model related White racial identity attitudes to cultural values (Helms & Carter, 1990), perceived comfort with Blacks (Claney & Parker, 1989), and racism (Davis & Carter, 1988).

Although many theorists would agree that Helms's model is grand in scope as it pertains to White racial identity (Ponterotto, 1988), it has a number of limitations. First, her model applies to White people in general but not to White counselors-in-training. Secondly, Helms (1984) mainly targeted and focused on Black-White interactions. More recently, however, authors have proposed models of White identity development that addressed these concerns and limitations (Ponterotto, 1988; Sabnani, Ponterotto, & Borodovsky, 1991).

Most recently, Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994) discussed some concerns and potential problems and weaknesses regarding White racial identity development (WRID) models in

general, and Helms's (1984, 1990) model in particular. They suggested that WRID models are deficient in a number of ways.

First, models of White racial identity development strikingly resemble the oppression-adaptive models expaining ethnic minority identity development. Rowe et al. (1994) further believe that the conceptualization of White racial identity development as a process parallel to minority identity development has little merit. In fact, they indicated that there is evidence that the process might be quite different for minority and majority members as a function of differences in minority and dominant positions in society.

Secondly, Rowe et al. (1994) proposed that existing White racial identity models focus primarily on attitudes toward racial/ethnic outgroups, not on how Whites develop attitudes toward their own racial group. Instead of focusing on attitudes toward their own racial-group membership, WRID models mainly describe how Whites develop sensitivity to and appreciation of other racial ethnic groups.

Thirdly, Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994) criticized the conceptualization of White racial identity as developmental stage models. They assert that directionality is imposed when proponents of White racial identity models speak of a progression "from a least [mentally] healthy stage . . . to most healthy stage of racial identity" (Helms, 1989, p. 240). In other words, Rowe et al. (1994) believe that

there is nothing in nature, similar to Piagetian stages of mental operations, that orders the stages of White racial identity development.

Facilitating White Racial Consciousness

The development of White racial identity has been and continues to be closely intertwined with the development and progress of racism in the United States. Jones (1981) has identified three types of racism: (a) individual-personal attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that convince oneself of the superiority of Whites and the inferiority of non-White racial or ethnic groups; (b) institutional-social policies, laws, and regulations aimed at maintaining the economic and social advantages of Whites over minority groups; and (c) cultural-societal norms, beliefs, and customs that promote the superiority of the White culture (e.g., language, appearance, and traditions).

Because these types of racism are deeply embedded in our society, each can become integrated into the White individual's racial consciousness or identity (Helms, 1990). In order to promote a healthy White identity, defined in part as nonracist identity, she insisted that "virtually every White person in the United States must overcome one or more of these aspects of racism" (Helms, 1990, p.49).

It appears that the cultivation and evolution of a positive White racial identity depends on the abandonment of racism and the development of a nonracist White identity.

Furthermore, Helms (1990) asserted that the greater the extent that racism exists and is defined, the less possible it is to develop a positive White racial identity. Consequently, several theorists have offered suggestions for promoting and facilitating a healthy, positive White racial identity.

For example, Corvin and Wiggins (1989) created an anti-racism training model for White professionals. They conceptualized four developmental stages based on the premise that in order for a White person to develop multicultural competence, one must first recognize, assess, and understand oneself as a member of a particular racial group. Then one must also become aware of one's own racism and take active steps to change.

Ridley (1989) also addressed the special multicultural training needs of White professionals. He outlined specific behaviors exhibited by White counselors that need to be understood because they systematically produce adverse consequences for minority clients. The factors and behaviors that hinder the therapeutic process include: (1) color blindness, (2) excessive color consciousness, (3) failure to recognize or effectively deal with cultural transference, (4) cultural counter-transference, (5) ambivalent counseling motives, (6) pseudotransference, and (7) misinterpreting client nondisclosure.

Despite the evident need for multicultural training, cross-cultural educators view existing efforts as experimental, scarce (Lefley, 1985), and yet lacking clear consensus regarding their future directions (Heath, Neimeyer, & Pedersen, 1988). Furthermore, very little research has been conducted to test the effects of different aspects of multicultural counselor training. However, observations and exploratory studies of graduate students enrolled in counseling ethnic minorities classes indicate that a process of attitude change appears to take place.

For example, Ponterotto (1988) observed that most of the White students in his multicultural counseling courses passed through four stages of "majority" identity development similar to the stages proposed by Helms (1984). Although his findings are based on personal observations and not on empirical testing, Ponterotto (1988), nevertheless, suggested that students entered classes naively and perhaps with racist attitudes, and emerged having accepted and appreciated their own culture and those of others.

However, research conducted with graduate counseling students enrolled in similar courses at another university indicated that trainees became more conflicted (Fukuyama, Metzler, & Heath, 1987) and less comfortable with ethnic minorities (Claney & Parker, 1989) following the completion of their multicultural counseling classes. The discrepancy in these findings make it difficult to draw definitive

conclusions. Therefore, it is essential to begin systematic empirical research to test the effects of various components of multicultural training on counselor trainees.

To that end, Parker, Moore, and Neimeyer (1993) have examined the impact of multicultural training on the development of White racial identity and interracial comfort. In their research, counselor trainees were exposed to a 15 week-long required multicultural counseling course and compared with a control group of individuals who did not participate in this training. The training program utilized both didactic and experiential methods of the following components: (1) Personal Awareness and Growth; (2) Cultural Knowledge; and (3) Cross-cultural Skill and Sensitivity Training (see Parker et al., 1993).

Results of their study indicated that the implementation of an integrative multicultural training program produced significant changes in how White counselors-in-training perceive their own racial identity and that of others. Significant changes were also observed regarding perceived interracial comfort, with training group participants expressing more comfort in situations involving Black individuals than those in the control group (Parker et al., 1993).

Overall, Parker et al. (1993) provided support for the efficacy of multicultural training in helping White counselors-in-training become more aware of and sensitive to

their cultural attitudes and characteristics that have been linked to individuals' effectiveness in working with ethnic minority clients (Helms, 1990; Sabnani et al., 1991). However, one major limitation of this study was the lack of control and random assignment of participants to treatment or no-treatment control groups. Parker et al. (1993) also suggested that another potential weakness of their study was the low to moderate reliability of the dependent measures.

Earlier, Heath (1992) conducted research designed to assess the impact of racial identity training on White undergraduate students' perceptions of and attitudes toward Blacks. Results indicated that the level of prejudice reached by the Majority and Minority Identity training group was significantly higher than either the prejudice level of either the Minority Identity training alone group or the control group (Heath, 1992). The question that emerged from Heath's (1992) study was whether the increase in prejudice after Majority/Minority Identity training was due to an interaction between the Majority Identity and Minority Identity training or whether Majority Identity alone caused these negative effects.

Subsequently, Hamarneh and Neimeyer (1992) designed a study to address this question by isolating the two training components. Results revealed that Majority Identity training caused White college students to increase their negative attitudes toward Blacks relative to those of both the

Minority Identity training and control groups (see Hamarneh & Neimeyer, 1992). One major limitation of this study was the lack of external validity, which made it difficult to generalize the results to other populations, including counselors-in-training. Additionally, there were some concerns about the validity and reliability of the dependent measures.

In order to advance this area of research, future authors must adequately address potential weaknesses and concerns of previous work. Consequently, the purpose of the present study is to address some of these concerns and to further explore the role and impact of racial identity development training on White trainees' anti-Black attitudes.

This research may have significant implications for improving intergroup relations, mainly White/Black relations. More specifically, this model may help counselors-in-training become aware of within-group or individual differences, as well as respond to minority clients in a less stereotypic manner. The results of this study may also help assess the utility of models of racial/cultural identity development as a training tool in graduate programs in Counseling and Clinical psychology. The participants, design and procedure, dependent variables, and hypotheses are discussed in the next section.

CHAPTER III METHODS

Participants

In an effort to increase the external validity of this study, participants were graduate students from several universities. More specifically, the participants were White counselors-in-training from clinical, counseling or counselor education programs at three large southern universities. Graduate course schedules from these institutions were consulted to identify potential classes. Subsequently, instructors of such classes were contacted by telephone to ask for permission to use their classes for this research. The examiner provided the instructors with a copy of the training models and the dependent measures.

After permission was obtained, the examiner went to these classes to ask potential participants if they would like to volunteer in a research project investigating perceptions and attitudes of people in general. There were 80 females and 52 males ($N=132$). Participants' ages ranged from 23 to 46, with a mean age of 27. Demographic data revealed that all participants were at an early stage of graduate training. Demographic data also revealed minimal self-reported experience, such as courses and/or workshops,

with multicultural counseling. Of the three targeted programs, only one required a course in multicultural counseling. After the administration of the dependent measures, the participants were debriefed and informed regarding the purpose of the study.

Design and Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups: (1) Minority Identity stages, (2) Majority Identity stages, or (3) No-Treatment control group. Three dependent measures were administered to the three groups on pre- and post-test basis. Moreover, because the examiner was interested in determining the impact of White counselor trainees' own level of racial identity development on multicultural training, a third factor was constructed reflecting high and low levels of White racial identity development (see results section). The design of this study, therefore, was a 3 (group) x 2 (time) x 2 (level of white identity) mixed factorial design.

The dependent measures were a series of paper-and-pencil questionnaires (see dependent measures below). They were administered to each participant on a pre- and post-test basis, one week prior to the treatment and immediately after the treatment, respectively. The No-Treatment control participants were given the same questionnaires as the two treatment groups, but without any intervening training.

Treatment Groups

The procedure began by telling participants that the purpose of this training was to look at the usefulness of a model used when training therapists, business managers, and school administrators to become more effective in dealing with ethnic minorities.

Treatment Group 1 participants were introduced to the stages of Majority Identity Development. Each participant was provided with a packet that included a general description of each of the stages of identity development, followed by examples of behaviors and attitudes, as well as common statements indicative of each stage (see appendix B). The stages of Majority Identity Development included: Contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independence, and autonomy. In addition, advantages and disadvantages associated with being in each of the stages were presented.

Treatment Group 2 participants received corresponding Stages of Minority Identity Development. These consisted of acceptance, resistance, redefinition, and internalization stages. These stages were presented in the same format as group 1 (see Appendix C).

Participants of both groups were asked to pay close attention during the didactic sessions because they will be asked to place individuals seen in a 20 minute video into the appropriate stage of identity development. The video is a copy of a PBS special about Rutgers University Black and

White students' attitudes toward each other. Before the presentation of this video, the participants were given a Response Sheet that includes the name of students seen in the video, followed by the list of identity stage titles. They were encouraged to take notes on their response sheet and were told that after they complete the sheet, they would be asked to share their responses and comments.

Control Group

Participants in the Control Group were not given any treatment. However, they viewed a short video tape on non-multicultural subject matter. They were also given the same pre- and post-test measures as the treatment groups.

Dependent Measures

The dependent variables consisted of three measures of racism or anti-Black attitudes: the Modern Racism Scale (MRS), the Anti-Black Racial Attitude Scale, and the short form of the Interracial Comfort Index (ICI) scale. In addition, 10 items of the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) were utilized to determine participants' level of racial identity development (see below).

Modern Racism Scale (MRS)

The Modern Racism Scale (McMonahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981) is designed to measure anti-Black attitudes in a subtle and nonreactive fashion. This scale is widely used and has proven to be useful in predicting a variety of behaviors such as voting patterns and reactions to busing (McMonahay, et

al., 1981). The MRS consists of 22 items, seven of which are utilized to calculate the racism score. Item number 6 is reversed scored. Subjects respond to these items on a 5-point rating scale that ranges from -2 (disagree strongly) to +2 (agree strongly). Therefore, the Modern Racism Scale ranges from -14 (low prejudice) to +14 (high prejudice). The scale has a Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of .83 (McMonahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981).

Racial Attitude Scales

Previous research has indicated that racial attitudes are multi-dimensional and reflect an ambivalent nature (Katz & Hass, 1988). That is, a White individual's attitudes may simultaneously reflect pro and anti attitudinal components. Further, Katz and Hass (1988) hypothesized that differing contextual experience can selectively activate these components. Presenting one may also have a cognitive priming effect on the response pattern related to items on other correlated scales (Katz & Hass, 1988).

Consequently, 21 items of the Racial and Value Scales were randomly intermixed so as to balance for cognitive priming effects. However, only the 10 items corresponding to the Anti-Black Scale were scored. Items number 14 and 20 are reversed scored. Participants responded to items using a 5-point rating scale that ranges from -2 (strongly disagree) to +2 (agree strongly). Therefore, scores on this scale range from -20 (low prejudice) to +20 (high prejudice).

Katz and Hass (1988) established construct and discriminant validities by using the Derogatory Beliefs and Ease in Interracial Contacts subscales of the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (see Katz & Hass, 1988). Katz and Hass (1988) reported the following validities: Anti-Black and Derogatory Beliefs, $r(57) = .63$, $p < .001$; Anti-Black and Ease, $r(57) = -.02$, ns. In addition, utilizing the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (SDS; Crowne & Marlowe, 1964), influence of social desirability in the item construction was examined and found insignificant ($r(57) = .10$ for the Anti-Black Scale).

Interracial Comfort Index (ICI)

The Interracial Comfort Index (ICI; Claney & Parker, 1989) is a 50-item measure of comfort in various situations involving Black individuals. The ICI is a modified version of the Comfort Assessment (Claney & Parker, 1989), a scale derived from similar instruments developed by Parker, Valley, and Geary (1986), and the Situation Attitudes Scale (Sedlacek & Brooks, 1970). The ICI uses a Likert-type scale ranging from very low comfort (1) to very high comfort (5).

Recent research (Parker, Moore, & Neimeyer, 1993) suggested using a short form of the ICI. Psychometric data on the 15-item ICI short form yielded a Cronbach alpha of .98, indicating very high internal consistency (Parker, Moore, & Neimeyer, 1993). Based on these results, the short form of the ICI was utilized for this study.

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS)

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990) is a rationally derived scale based on Helms (1984) model of White racial identity development. The WRIAS was developed to assess attitudes related to the five stages of Helms (1984) White racial identity development: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy. The WRIAS is a 50-item instrument utilizing Likert-type rating scales. Helms and Carter (1990) reported that none of the items on the WRIAS correlated significantly with the Crowne and Marlowe (1964) Social Desirability Scale (SDS). In addition, the WRIAS has been found to exceed the median reliability coefficient of .54 reported by Anastasi (1982) for personality tests in general.

Helms and Carter (1990) have indicated that the Contact items of the WRIAS tend to load on factors distinct from other scales. A reliability coefficient of .67 was found via the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula (Helms & Carter, 1990). Helms and Carter (1990) concluded that Contact items can continue to be used as a single scale. For this study, the 10 items reflective of the Contact stage of White racial identity development were utilized. The scores on this scale range from 10 to 50, with lower scores indicating higher levels of White racial identity development. For this study, the median score will be utilized to divide participants into low or high levels of White racial identity development.

Hypotheses

Racial identity development models are based on the premise that individuals pass through a stage-like process, culminating in healthy attitudes and an appreciation of one's own group and other racial/ethnic groups. Previous research has indicated that exposing individuals to Majority and Minority identity development training accounted for divergent results (Heath, 1992; Hamarneh & Neimeyer, 1992). Relative to the Minority identity training and no-treatment control groups, Majority identity training group participants increased in their anti-Black attitudes. Based on previous findings, the following hypotheses were made:

1. The Modern Racism Scale (MRS) and Anti-Black Racial Attitudes Scale (ABRAS) scores will significantly increase for those participants who receive Majority Identity Development training (treatment group 1), signifying an increase of anti-Black attitudes.
2. The Modern Racism Scale (MRS) and Anti-Black Racial Attitudes Scale (ABRAS) scores will significantly decrease for those participants who receive Minority Identity Development training, signifying a decrease in anti-Black attitudes.
3. The ICI scores will be utilized to determine comfort level changes in the groups across times. ICI scores will significantly decrease (signifying lesser comfort) for

the Majority Identity Development training group (treatment group 1) relative to the other two groups.

4. ICI scores will increase (signifying greater comfort) for participants in the Minority Identity Development training group (treatment group 2) relative to participants in the other two groups.

In addition, using the median score of the Contact Stage scale of the WRIAS, participants will be divided into low or high levels of White racial identity development (see results, below). This will be done in order to assess the impact of levels of White racial identity development across various treatment conditions, although no directional predictions are being made.

CHAPTER IV RESULTS

This study utilized a 3 (Group) x 2 (Level of White Identity) x 2 (Time) mixed factorial design. The hypotheses were tested using a repeated measures analysis along three dependent measures. The dependent variables consisted of the following measures of racism or anti-Black attitudes: the Modern Racism Scale (MRS), the Anti-Black Racial Attitude Scale, and the Interracial Comfort Scale Index (ICI).

In addition, the Contact stage score of the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) was used to test the impact of White racial identity levels (low or high) along the dependent measures mentioned above. In order to establish this variable, a median score of 30.5 was determined. Participants with Contact stage scores of the WRIAS above the median were designated as reflecting Low White Racial Identity Development ($M = 35.42$; $SD = 3.59$). Similarly, participants with Contact stage scores of the WRIAS below the median were identified as reflecting High White Racial Identity Development ($M = 26.80$; $SD = 3.11$). The results of each of the dependent variables will be presented next.

The Modern Racism Scale (MRS)

It was hypothesized that there would be an increase from pre-test to post-test on the Modern Racism Scale scores for the Majority Group relative to the Minority and Control Groups. A repeated measures analysis revealed main effects of Group, $F(2,126)=8.29$, $p<.01$, Contact, $F(1,126)=6.71$, $p<.05$, and Time, $F(1,126)=30.94$, $p<.01$. For the main effect of Contact, those reflecting high White identity development had lower MRS scores ($M=-8.95$) than those reflecting low White identity ($M=-7.30$). The main effects of Group and Time were qualified by a time x group interaction, $F(2,126)=139.05$, $p<.01$. The means and standard deviations for the time x group interaction are presented in table 1.

Simple effects testing revealed that there was a significant increase in MRS scores from pre-test to post-test for the Majority Identity training group, $F(1,42)=253.67$, $p<.01$. For the Minority Identity training group, there was a significant decrease in racism scores (MRS) from pre-test to post-test, $F(1,41)=38.74$, $p<.01$. For the Control group, MRS scores did not significantly change from pre-test to post-test, $F(1,43)=0.96$, $p>.33$.

Viewing the interaction differently, there were no pre-test differences in MRS scores among the three conditions, $F(2,126)=.54$, $p>.58$. However, there was an effect of Group for post-test MRS scores, $F(2,126)=25.63$, $p<.01$. Subsequent pairwise comparisons revealed that participants receiving

Majority Identity training were significantly different from both the Minority Identity training and Control participants, $p < .05$, Tukey's. These results support hypotheses 1 and 2 that predicted that Majority Identity Development training participants would have more negative or anti-Black attitudes relative to participants in the No-treatment Control and Minority Identity Development training groups.

TABLE 1

Means and Standard Deviations for the Modern Racism Scale

Group	Level of Identity	N	Pre-test		Post-test	
			M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Majority Training	Low	20	-6.7	4.83	-3.0	4.75
	High	24	-9.8	4.08	-6.5	4.62
Minority Training	Low	23	-8.7	3.90	-10.0	3.25
	High	20	-9.3	4.23	-11.1	3.54
Control (No-Training)	Low	23	-8.7	4.05	-8.3	3.96
	High	22	-9.7	2.59	-9.6	2.95

Note. Larger numbers indicate greater anti-Black attitudes.

The Anti-Black Racial Attitude Scale

It was hypothesized that there would be a significant increase in the Anti-Black Racial Attitude Scale (ABRAS) scores for the Majority Group relative to the Minority and Control Groups. An analysis of ABRAS scores revealed a main

effect of Contact (Level of White Identity), $F(1,126)=4.39$, $p<.05$, and a time x group interaction, $F(2,126)=62.14$, $p<.01$. For the main effect of Contact, those high in White identity development had lower anti-Black attitudes ($M=-3.20$) than those with low White identity ($M=-0.67$). The means and standard deviations for the time x group interaction are presented in table 2.

Simple effects testing for the ABRAS scores revealed a significant increase from pre-test to post-test for the Majority group, $F(1,42)=65.88$, $p<.01$. For the Minority group, pre-test to post-test ABRAS scores significantly decreased, $F(1,41)=50.81$, $p<.01$. However, for the Control group, there was no significant changes from pre-test to post-test, $F(1,43)=1.41$, $p>0.24$.

Examining the time x group interaction differently, no effect was revealed for Group on ABRAS pre-test scores, $F(2,126)=.55$, $p>.05$. However, there was a significant effect of Group on post-test scores, $F(2,126)=4.57$, $p<.01$. Subsequent pairwise comparisons revealed that participants in the Majority group were significantly different from participants in the Minority group but not the Control group, critical value=3.35, $p<.05$, Tukey's. These results also reveal support for hypotheses 1 and 2.

TABLE 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Anti-Black Attitude Scale

Group	Level of Identity	N	Pre-test		Post-test	
			M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Majority Training	Low	20	-1.7	6.83	1.9	6.64
	High	24	-4.3	7.66	-2.2	7.61
Minority Training	Low	23	-0.3	6.49	-3.2	7.07
	High	20	-3.5	6.12	-6.0	5.25
Control (No-Training)	Low	23	-0.6	6.69	-0.3	7.25
	High	22	-2.3	0.07	-1.7	8.95

Note. Larger numbers indicate more anti-Black attitudes.

The Interracial Comfort Index

It was hypothesized that participants in the Majority group would decrease in their perceived comfort with Black individuals relative to those in both the Minority and Control groups. Results of the repeated measures analysis indicated a significant time x group interaction, $F(2,126)=80.39$, $p<.01$. Means and standard deviations for the time x group interaction are presented in table 3.

Simple effects testing revealed that there was a significant decrease in ICI scores from pre-test to post-test for the Majority group, $F(1,42)=59.91$, $p<.01$. For the Minority group, the ICI scores increased significantly from

pre-test to post-test, $F(1,41)=69.02$, $p<.05$. Pre-test and post-test ICI scores, however, did not significantly change for the Control group, $F(1,43)=0.97$, $p>.33$.

Viewing the time x group interaction differently, no pre-test differences among groups existed $F(2,126)=1.05$, $p>.05$. However, significant post-test differences did emerge, $F(2,126)=6.84$, $p<.01$. A Tukey Studentized Range (HSD) Test for post-test ICI scores indicated that the Majority group ($M=59.96$) is significantly more negative toward Blacks than the Minority ($M=66.69$) or Control ($M=63.56$) groups, $p<.05$, Tukey's. Moreover, the Majority group was significantly different from the Minority, but not the Control, group. These results support hypotheses 3 and 4.

TABLE 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Interracial Comfort Index

Group	Level of Identity	N	Pre-test		Post-test	
			M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Majority Training	Low	20	64.9	9.48	59.9	9.48
	High	24	65.6	8.64	60.0	8.66
Minority Training	Low	23	61.5	8.73	66.5	7.05
	High	20	63.6	11.09	66.9	9.19
Control (No-Training)	Low	23	61.8	8.74	62.6	8.52
	High	22	64.6	7.99	64.6	8.20

Note. Larger numbers indicate greater interracial comfort.

CHAPTER V DISCUSSION

The increased emphasis on cross-cultural issues in general, and counselor-training and skill development in particular, is driven by the recognition that we are becoming a multiracial, multicultural, and multilingual society (Sue & Sue, 1990). Up to this point, however, the counseling profession has primarily operated within a monocultural perspective.

Consequently, traditional counseling theory has been criticized for its lack of cross-cultural relevance (Sue & Sue, 1990). Atkinson et al. (1989) noted that counseling approaches have been primarily developed by and for middle-class White individuals. Wrenn (1985) referred to those who espouse theory and practice based on this monocultural perspective as "culturally encapsulated" counselors.

During the past decade many approaches have been proposed to train competent counselors to work effectively with minority clients (Helms, 1990). One particular approach that has gained considerable attention is to introduce counselors-in-training to racial identity stage theory. Previous research has shown that racial identity development training has an impact on stereotyping (Heath, 1992) and

prejudice and racism of Whites toward Blacks (Hamarnah & Neimeyer, 1992).

This study investigated the effects of training White counselor trainees in racial identity development on their anti-Black attitudes. Proposed models of White racial identity are based on the notion that effective multicultural training occurs developmentally, and that the racial identity of White counselors-in-training is an integral aspect of such training.

Therefore, it was hypothesized that there would be significant group differences from pre-test to post-test along the dependent variables. The results of this study provide consistent support for the overall assumption that racial identity development training has a significant impact on the attitudes of White counselors-in-training. Importantly, however, the nature of this impact varied markedly with the particular treatment condition, and in some instances was related to White counselors' own level of racial identity development.

Although all the dependent measures yielded significant results (see results), the most robust support for this study was generated from the Modern Racism Scale (MRS). Analysis of the MRS scores demonstrated that training in racial identity development had an impact on participants' attitudes toward Blacks, with different training leading to divergent results. In addition, results of the other two dependent

variables are largely consistent with these findings, although they provide somewhat less robust evidence for these effects.

For example, compared with individuals who received Minority Identity Development training, participants who received Majority Identity Development training significantly increased in their prejudicial or anti-Black attitudes, as indicated by the three dependent measures. Furthermore, results also supported the notion that Minority Identity Development training results in a decrease in participants' prejudicial or anti-Black attitudes.

Why do participants who receive Majority Identity Development training increase in their prejudicial or anti-Black attitudes? Some researchers have proposed possible reasons for this effect. First, receiving Majority Identity Development training may be threatening to many Whites. Ponterotto (1988) noted that most students entering a counseling program are in the first stage of Majority (White) racial identity development. He described the White person in this stage as one who "has given little thought to multicultural issues or to his or her role as a White person in a racist and oppressive society" (p. 151).

Secondly, this training requires individuals to explore the meaning of being White as it relates to Black people, which includes acknowledging racism as a basic and pervasive aspect of the Majority (White) culture. Being forced to view

oneself as a Majority member may lead participants to feel guilt or depression (Katz & Ivey, 1977), and perhaps to an increase in anti-Black attitudes in reaction (Helms, 1984). In their process-oriented White identity development model, Corvin and Wiggins (1989) also described feelings ranging from anger and confusion to guilt and shame. According to existing White racial identity development models, these negative reactions are apparently connected to Whites' recognition of their contribution to upholding racist values and attitudes.

It is possible that these negative feelings constitute an initial and indispensable reaction to some components of the Majority Identity Development training. Over time, these reactions may become integrated into the individual's view in a way that is constructive and positive, rather than destructive and negative. To some extent, "owning racist attitudes" becomes a necessary first step toward developing a healthy White identity. Only longitudinal research, however, can address this and other possibilities that may occur over time, highlighting the importance of longer term developmental work in this area.

In contrast, participants who received Minority Identity Development training became less negative towards Blacks. Because the Minority Identity Development model presents a sensitive conceptualization of Blacks' struggles to becoming proud of who they are in a society that does not value them,

counselor trainees may have engaged in sympathetic identification with Blacks. Hence, focusing on Black peoples' problems sensitized participants to the immense costs of oppression and racism, which may have evoked empathy or encouraged a rescuer-like response (Heath, 1992).

Since Minority Identity Development training may not be perceived as "threatening" to many White counselor trainees, their prejudice or anti-Black attitudes may also decrease. Moreover, social desirability and/or demand characteristics may have accounted for some of these effects. To address this potential concern, future research in this area should include a measure of social desirability.

Recommendations and Future Directions

Although models of racial identity development are important contributions to the cross-cultural literature, some authors have expressed criticisms regarding weaknesses and limitations of White racial identity development models. Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994) asserted that these models are deficient in terms of (a) being based on the oppression-adaptive models of Minority identity development, (b) focusing primarily on attitudes toward racial outgroups, not toward one's own group, and (c) depicting the process of racial identity as developmental in nature.

Despite existing criticisms in the counseling literature, models of racial identity development continue to thrive and proliferate. Advances in this area, however,

have been largely theoretical in nature. From an empirical standpoint, Sabnani et al. (1991) suggested that we are in an infancy stage in terms of fully understanding models of White racial identity development. In addition, research has not examined the stability or shift of racial consciousness or attitudes over time or across stages of these models. Thus, only longitudinal and developmental investigations of racial identity may adequately address and provide insight into these questions.

In addition to developing valid and reliable instruments to assess the efficacy of models of racial identity training, subsequent research should focus on examining whether or not matching training goals with stages of White racial identity development results in greater multicultural competence and sensitivity. Research in this area may help facilitate the creation of professional training and graduate programs that produce competent and multiculturally sensitive counselors.

Finally, it is essential to recognize and acknowledge that racial/cultural identity development models represent a complex and dynamic process, not a static one (Sue, 1981). Results of this study, however, provide additional support for the overall idea that stage theories or models of racial/cultural identity development represent an important component of cross-cultural training that warrants further empirical attention.

APPENDIX A DEBRIEFING

In the field of counseling psychology, many approaches have been proposed to train counselors who will be effective in working with racial/ethnic minorities. During the last two decades, considerable attention has been focused on stage theory of racial identity development of minority groups. More recently, this focus has shifted to investigating White racial identity. The rationale behind this shift is due to the fact that most counselors in the helping profession are White, middle-class individuals.

Multicultural counselor training often involves exposing trainees to racial identity development. Racial identity theory states that people, regardless of race, progress through a series of stages that govern one's attitudes, feelings, and behaviors toward oneself and others. Little research has been conducted to test the efficacy of multicultural training in general, and racial identity training in particular. The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of racial identity training on attitudes of White counselor trainees.

Thank you for your participation in this project. If you would like to have a copy of the results, please provide your name and phone number before you leave.

APPENDIX B

STAGES OF MAJORITY IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

The Stages of Majority Identity Development represent the process by which majority members develop a healthy sense of identity and sensitivity to minority concerns. "Majority" groups are those in a society who, by virtue of their group's control of economic, cultural and other rewards, have had a negative effect on groups that differ from the majority. In the United States, majority members include such groups as White Americans, Men, and non-handicapped people. For the purposes of this study, we will be focusing on White Americans as the majority group.

One does not generally "arrive" at the final stage and remain at the level for all future times. For most people, the experience of identity awareness is more like a loop than a straight line. Levels of awareness may be experienced both as linear progression from level to level and as a recycling of a prior level based on new experiences.

For example, one may develop a sense of "autonomy" at the age of 20 but when new life experiences present themselves, one may experience a recycling of growth as one goes through the process of synthesizing the changes with one's former sense of identity.

Each stage is briefly described below. Behaviors and attitudes associated with the stages are identified, and some examples of statements associated with the stages are also listed.

I. CONTACT STAGE

In this stage majority members become aware of the existence of minority members. White Americans do not perceive themselves as "racial beings" and tend to assume that racial and cultural differences are individual matters, not social or political concerns.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- believes that everyone is the same, or some may believe that minorities are inferior in some ways to majority

group members.

- has a naive curiosity about culturally different people.
- an encounter with a minority group member is a minor crisis.
- believes in the "melting pot" theory of assimilation.

Common Statements:

- "When i talk to you i don't think of you as Black."
- "You can do whatever you want to do as long as you don't do it around me."
- "Why are all the minority students sitting together?"

II. DISINTEGRATION STAGE

In this stage, one acknowledges that prejudice and discrimination exist and are forced to view oneself as a majority group member. Guilt may emerge as racial differences become more apparent.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- may become immobilized by the enormity of the problem suggested by minority-majority differences.
- sees self as less prejudiced than other members of majority group.
- wants to be seen as an individual and not a member of any group.
- may attempt to protect minority members from negative interactions with majority group members; will challenge majority members about their behaviors and attitudes.
- may over identify with culture of the majority group.

Common Statements:

- "My parents are very prejudiced but I am not."
- "Although I am not responsible for the negative actions of other majority group members, I will confront them about their behaviors."
- "Most Whites are prejudiced towards minorities."

III. REINTEGRATION STAGE

In this stage, the majority member tend to focus on how s/he has been socialized in a majority world. The focus is less on oneself in comparison to minority groups and more on oneself as a member of a majority group.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- wants to focus on problems associated with own group.
- wants to focus on belief that people are all the same in important ways.
- thinks that too much attention is being placed on cultural differences, and stresses instead the need to foster climate that focuses on the strengths and limitations of all cultures.

Common Statements:

- "Racism isn't the only problem; what about world hunger?"
- "I believe that quotas of any kind are wrong."
- "we're not going to get very far unless other majority group members join us in combating racism."

IV. PSEUDO-INDEPENDENCE STAGE

In this stage the person accepts minority group members as a conceptual level and becomes interested in understanding racial differences. Their involvement with minority group members tends to be limited to those who they perceive to be similar to themselves.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- can articulate reasons for accepting minority group members.
- has friends who are members of minority groups.
- tends not to be involved in any activity that supports minority group concerns.
- believes that discrimination is a problem of the uneducated.

Common Statements:

- "I accept all minority group members and believe that we all should."
- "Blacks have the same abilities as Whites."
- "Racism is illogical."

V. AUTONOMY STAGE

This final stage is characterized by an individual becoming knowledgeable about racial and cultural similarities as well as differences. This person accepts, respects, and appreciates both minority and majority individuals.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- seeks opportunities to involve themselves in cross-

- cultural interactions.
- values diversity.
- respects and appreciates cross-cultural and interracial interactions.

Common Statements:

- "I am actively involved in fighting racism."
- "I am a recovering racist."
- "We are all members of the same global community."
- "Discrimination and prejudice against any group has a negative effect on us all."

APPENDIX C

STAGES OF MINORITY IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

The following stages are typically experienced by minority group members (Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native American Indians, Women, etc.). Each stage is briefly described below. Behaviors and attitudes associated with the stages are identified, and some examples of statements associated with each stage are listed.

When minority group members experience levels of awareness, they may experience both a linear progression from level to level and a recycling of a prior level based on new experiences. One does not generally "arrive" at the final stage and remain at that level for all future times. For most people, the experience of identity awareness is more like a loop than a straight line. For example, one may develop a sense of "internalization" at the age of 20 but experience a recycling of growth as one goes through the process of synthesizing the changes with one's former sense of identity.

I. ACCEPTANCE STAGE

This stage is characterized by limited self-awareness about differences, and dependence upon the majority group for sense of worth.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- attitudes toward the world and self are determined by the majority group's logic.
- dislikes one's own group, emulates majority group.
- accepts stereotypes of own group.
- believes that assimilation is the most effective method for problem solving.

Common Statements:

- "We're all just people."
- "Blacks are basically lazy." (said by a Black person)

II. RESISTANCE STAGE

In this stage a significant event creates receptivity

to a new identity.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- openly challenges acts of discrimination against own group.
- intense search for own group history, identity begins.
- reinterprets all events from one's own group perspective.
- experiences deepen the trauma of discrimination.
- separates self from other minority members who seem to still be in the acceptance stage.

Common Statements:

- "I've discovered that my being Black makes a difference to Whites."
- "I was rejected because my skin was too dark."
- "I met a Black man who was proud of being a Black man."

III. REDEFINITION STAGE

In this stage there is a transition from the old identity to a new identity, and an emphasis on the destruction of the old identity and a glorification of the new identity.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- participates in political action groups, seminars, awareness groups, etc.
- undergoes a liberation from the majority group's values and stereotypes.
- behaves as though majority group members are not human. confronts the system.
- person feels an overwhelming attachment to her/his group.
- gradually both the strengths and weaknesses of the majority group and one's own group become visible.

Common Statements:

- "Black is beautiful."
- "All White people are racist."
- "Black people must have their own organizations that can protect Black people and ensure that they will be dealt with equitably on the job."
- "Only Blacks can really understand what it means to be Black."

IV. INTERNALIZATION STAGE

The new identity is incorporated and the individual can renegotiate with the majority.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- one behaves with a sense of inner security.
- one has compassion for all minority people and can apply one's values to all "isms."
- one demonstrates commitment and active participation in making social change.

Common Statements:

- "I can learn from both Whites and Blacks."
- "I'll never change his mind but I can handle his attitude."
- "To be liberated as a Black man I must also confront my own sexism."

**APPENDIX D
RESPONSE SHEETS**

(Treatment Group 1: Majority Stage Training)

As you view the video, determine which stage each student falls into and place a check mark next to the stage name.

1. Tim Farrell

- _____ I. Contact
- _____ II. Disintegration
- _____ III. Reintegration
- _____ IV. Pseudo-Independence
- _____ V. Autonomy

2. Ben Brennan

- _____ I. Contact
- _____ II. Disintegration
- _____ III. Reintegration
- _____ IV. Pseudo-Independence
- _____ V. Autonomy

Of the Majority identity stages, indicate which stage best represents where you think you are at this point in your life. Please place a check next to the stage name.

- _____ I. Contact
- _____ II. Disintegration
- _____ III. Reintegration
- _____ IV. Pseudo-Independence
- _____ V. Autonomy

(Treatment Group 2: Minority Stage Training)

As you view the video, determine which stage the Black students fall into and place a check mark next to the stage name.

1. Avonne Abnathya

- _____ I. Acceptance
 _____ II. Resistance
 _____ III. Redefinition
 _____ IV. Internalization

2. Donnese Cheatam

- _____ I. Acceptance
 _____ II. Resistance
 _____ III. Redefinition
 _____ IV. Internalization

Think of three Black friends, write down their initials and the identity stage you think they are in.

Initials

Stage

Finally, how useful do you think this model is for understanding Black individuals? (please circle one)

5
very
useful

4
somewhat
useful

3
slightly
useful

2
neither

1
not at all
useful

**APPENDIX E
DEPENDENT MEASURES**

Code # _____ Sex _____ Age _____

Race/Ethnicity _____ Political Affiliation _____

Have you taken or are you currently taking a multicultural counseling course? Y _____ N _____

Have you ever attended conferences/workshops dealing with multicultural issues? Y _____ N _____

How would you rate your level of knowledge regarding multicultural issues in counseling (please circle one):

very high 5 4 3 2 1 very low

(The Modern Racism Scale)

Thank you for participating in this study. Below are a number of opinion statements about public issues, politics, and your beliefs about the world in general. You will agree with some, disagree with some, and have no opinion about others. You are under no obligation to give an opinion on any item. However, we would like for you to indicate when you do not have an opinion or when you do not wish to answer, so please do not leave any questions blank.

Your replies will be kept completely confidential and there are no right or wrong answers. We are interested only in group statistics.

Please use the following scale to indicate your degree of agreement with each item.

+2	agree strongly
+1	agree somewhat
0	neither agree or disagree
-1	disagree somewhat
-2	disagree strongly
x	I do not wish to answer

- ___ 1. Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
- ___ 2. I would oppose a consitutional amendment aimed at ridding the country of pornography and sexual immorality.
- ___ 3. Our society would have fewer problems if people had less leisure time.
- ___ 4. In a democratic society, the opinion of the majority should always prevail.
- ___ 5. Sex education should be taught in the public school systems of the United States.
- ___ 6. It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America.
- ___ 7. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically secure than they deserve.
- ___ 8. I am opposed to the U.S. establishing/maintaining formal diplomatic relations with China.
- ___ 9. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve.
- ___ 10. A distaste for work usually reflect a weakness of character.
- ___ 11. I would favor a constitutional amendment to permit non-sectarian prayers and religious services in public schools.
- ___ 12. Blacks are getting too demanding in pushing for equal rights.
- ___ 13. The U.S. should be more cautious dealing with Yeltsin.
- ___ 14. I favor the ratification of the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) to the United States Consitution.
- ___ 15. Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.
- ___ 16. It is okay for a woman to ask a man out on a date.
- ___ 17. Deep in my heart, I know that I am a White racist.

- ___ 18. The U.S. did the right thing when it invaded Panama in order to get Noriega.
- ___ 19. Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.
- ___ 20. It is easy to understand the anger of women in the U.S.
- ___ 21. In a divorce, the woman should always receive custody of the children.
- ___ 22. I am usually shy whenever I attend a mixer or other large party.

(The Anti-Black Racial Attitude Scale)

Please use the following scale to indicate your degree of agreement with each item.

- +2 agree strongly
- +1 agree somewhat
- 0 neither agree or disagree
- 1 disagree somewhat
- 2 disagree strongly
- x I do not wish to answer

- ___ 1. Most people spend too much time in unprofitable amusements.
- ___ 2. Blacks do not seem to use opportunities to own and operate little shops and businesses.
- ___ 3. Money acquired easily is usually spent unwisely.
- ___ 4. Although there are exceptions, Black urban neighborhoods do not seem to have strong community organization or leadership.
- ___ 5. Most people who do not succeed in life are just plain lazy.
- ___ 6. Blacks should take the jobs that are available and then work their way up to better jobs.
- ___ 7. The person who can approach an unpleasant task with enthusiasm is the person who gets ahead.
- ___ 8. On the whole, Black people do not stress education and training.

- ___ 9. Anyone who is willing and able to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.
- ___ 10. Many Black teenagers do not respect themselves or anyone else.
- ___ 11. I feel uneasy when there is little work for me to do.
- ___ 12. Black children would do better in schools if their parents had better attitudes about learning.
- ___ 13. Life would have very little meaning if we never had to suffer.
- ___ 14. Very few Black people are just looking for a free ride.
- ___ 15. People who fail to have a job have usually not tried hard enough.
- ___ 16. The root cause of most social and economic ills of Blacks is the weakness and instability of the Black family.
- ___ 17. If people work hard enough, they are likely to make a good life for themselves.
- ___ 18. One of the biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self-respect.
- ___ 19. Our society would have fewer problems if people had less leisure time.
- ___ 20. Most Blacks have the drive and determination to get ahead.
- ___ 21. A distaste for hard work usually reflects a weak character.

(The Interracial Comfort Index)

Please respond to these items based on your perceived or actual level of comfort in various situations involving Black individuals. Indicate your responses according to the following scale:

- 1 very low comfort
- 2 low comfort
- 3 average comfort
- 4 high comfort
- 5 very high comfort

- ___ 1. Hiring a Black individual to care for your children.
- ___ 2. Working with a Black individual.
- ___ 3. Hiring a Black individual to do complicated repairs on your house.
- ___ 4. Being employed by a Black individual.
- ___ 5. Voting for a Black individual for a local government position.
- ___ 6. Voting for a Black individual for president of the United States.
- ___ 7. Sharing membership in a social club with Black individuals.
- ___ 8. Sharing public transportation with Black individuals.
- ___ 9. Helping a Black individual in physical distress.
- ___ 10. Helping a Black individual in emotional distress.
- ___ 11. Reading a novel about the lives of Black people.
- ___ 12. Participating in recreational activities with Black individuals.
- ___ 13. Inviting a Black individual into your home for dinner.
- ___ 14. Being a close friend of a Black individual.
- ___ 15. Sitting next to a Black male/White female couple in a theatre.

(The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale)

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. On your answer sheet beside each item number, write the number that best describes how you feel.

- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 Uncertain
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

- ___ 1. I hardly think about what race I am.
- ___ 2. I find myself watching Black people to see what they are like.
- ___ 3. I wish I had a Black friend.
- ___ 4. I think it is exciting to discover the little ways in which Black people and White people are different.
- ___ 5. For most of my life, I did not think about racial issues.
- ___ 6. I am curious to learn in what ways Black people and White people differ from each other.
- ___ 7. In my family, we never talked about racial issues.
- ___ 8. I was raised to believe that people are people regardless of race.
- ___ 9. I think that it's okay for Black people and White people to date each other as long as they don't marry each other.
- ___ 10. I think White people should become more involved in socializing with Blacks.

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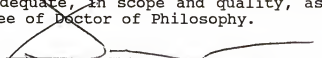
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Michael Elias Hamarneh has a unique background that contributed to his strong and longstanding dedication to multicultural issues and helping others. His father, Elias Hamarneh, was born and raised in Jordan. His mother, Nour, was deceased shortly after Michael emigrated to the United States in 1980. Michael was born in Amman, Jordan, and Arabic became his first language. Upon his arrival in the United States, Michael's English skills were almost nonexistent. He had to endure language and cultural barriers, as well as prejudice and racism. Such experiences were instrumental in guiding him toward the helping profession and a life-long commitment to multicultural research, training, and practice.

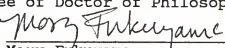
In 1986, Michael received his Bachelor of Arts in psychology from the University of Texas at Austin. One year later, Michael returned to school to pursue a masters degree. In 1988, he received his Master of Arts in clinical psychology. Michael then accepted a psychotherapist position at Mainland Center Hospital where he remained until deciding to return for additional graduate training. Michael has also been a Licensed Professional Counselor (LPC) in the State of Texas since March 1990.

In the fall of 1991, Michael entered the counseling psychology program at the University of Florida. Michael has accepted a pre-doctoral clinical psychology internship position at Marlboro Psychiatric Hospital, a state hospital located in New Jersey. Upon graduation in 1995, Michael plans to return to Houston, Texas, to seek employment and care for his seriously ill father.

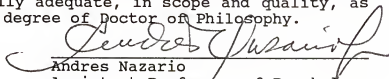
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Greg J. Neimeyer, Chairman
Professor of Psychology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Mary Fukuyama
Clinical Professor of Counselor Education

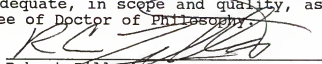
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Andres Nazario
Assistant Professor of Psychology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Woodroe Parker
Professor of Counselor Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Robert Ziller
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Psychology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1995

Dean, Graduate School